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STATEMENT BY THE LEADER OF THE RESISTANCE KAY RALA XANANA GUSMÃO, READ ON HIS BEHALF AT THE PLENARY OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR, HOSTED BY THE PORTUGUESE PARLIAMENT, LISBON, 31 MAY - 2 JUNE 1995

His Excellency
The President of the Portuguese Republic
Dr. Mário Soares

His Excellency
The Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic
Dr. Barbosa de Melo

His Excellency
The Prime Minister
Professor Cavaco Silva

Distinguished Participants:

On behalf of the Maubere People, I wish to thank the Portuguese authorities, on this particularly significant occasion, for organising this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, in conformity with the Portuguese Constitution, which provides for "all necessary acts" to be undertaken to defend East Timor's right to self-determination and national independence.

I would also like to express our gratitude to the participants from all over the world who, by attending the Conference, have endorsed our people's legitimate fight against Indonesian colonialism and denounced international complicity.

My greetings to His Excellency the Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, Dr. Barbosa de Melo, and to all the distinguished Portuguese deputies who, in their representation of our Portuguese brothers, have been honouring Portugal's responsibilities towards East Timor.

I wish to extend greetings to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on East Timor, Dr. Fernando Amaral, and to all those doggedly working in support of the Timorese cause.

My salutations to His Excellency the Foreign Minister, Dr. Durão Barroso, whose political tenacity has helped keep intact the Maubere resolve to resist the foreign occupier. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Dr. Quartín-Santos and the members of his team, for the commitment they have shown in dealing with the problem of East Timor.

I send my personal greetings, as well as those of my people, to a particularly outstanding friend of East Timor, His Excellency the President of the Republic, Dr. Mário Soares who, in whichever part of the world he happens to be, never passes up an opportunity to talk about the gruelling struggle of the Maubere people and their longings, and to urge the international community to uphold international law and the universal principles as they apply to the problem of East Timor.

Lastly, to the Portuguese media, to all dedicated friends of East Timor, to the Portuguese people, and the international solidarity movement, I would like to express the gratitude of the Maubere people, and their confidence that the flame of their struggle will carry on burning in everyone's hearts.

Distinguished Participants:

It was in Lisbon in May 1974 that the right of East Timor to choose its own future was recognised. To choose its own future! - rather a sentence to bitter captivity for a people to whom that right has been denied all this time.

Here, in Lisbon, 21 years later, we meet not only to acknowledge that very fact, but to seek a way out of the problem.

It has been nineteen and a half years since Indonesia's generals turned East Timor into a military training camp, in which they could test out everything from old war ships acquired after independence to the need to modernise the navy, from small transport aircraft to Bronko OVB-10s, from Sky Hawks to other modern hunters, from modern ground artillery to the technical-tactical efficiency of its ground forces.

For nineteen and a half years, the murdering occupation forces have simply been putting into practice Indonesia's strategy of physical and cultural genocide of our people.

In 1974, in this same month of May, two nationalist parties were born. They were to represent the conscience of the Timorese people, to become the reliquary of the ancestral struggles against colonialism, and to secure the promise of a future in which there would be freedom and peace.

The political apprenticeship of the Timorese was a bitter experience, like the early days of all political processes which follow a difficult gestation period.

During the course of the fight for the survival of our homeland and our people, we tried to construct an organised resistance which would combine and orientate the participation of all East Timor's citizens, regardless of their political and ideological convictions, in which freedom of choice would be guaranteed, and in which, above all, the precise non-partisan role of the glorious Falintil would be defined.

In Timor there are only two armies: the powerful ABRI and its armed collaborators and the small but invincible FALINTIL guerrilla force.

Sadly, for the puritan spirit of some Timorese, the term Maubere has a stigma attached to it. The Maubere people's sacrifices and suffering have taught us to understand that the only significant disagreement between Timorese should be based on whether one is for or against East Timor's right. Nothing else should be used to justify less honest attitudes towards our people's heroic resistance.

Highly esteemed as the Maubere people are throughout the world (a fact which greatly honours the people of East Timor), we announce here that the CNRM, a term now synonymous with the idealism intrinsic to a life and death struggle, may eventually come to be known as the National Council of Timorese Resistance, a fact which is proof of the good will of all of us who take upon our shoulders the responsibility of liberating the fatherland and people of East Timor.

It should be understood that this gesture means we will do everything to continue honouring and serving the supreme interests of the heroic Maubere people and that, for this tormented people, it will not be us who harbour the self-love which always leads to narrow-mindedness and inconsequential actions.

Distinguished participants:

Each year, tripartite meetings on East Timor are held between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. These meetings have now become routine and practically unproductive.

From the outset, Indonesia has always used its powers of economic persuasion to entice governments to accept its military annexation of the territory as a fait accompli. During the cold war, when the world, split in two, was completely subject to the interests of the super powers, Jakarta enjoyed unequalled impunity to commit the most barbarous atrocities on the people of East Timor.

In September 1975, it invaded the territory at the borders, taking Maliana up to the Atabai line and, on the following 7 December, openly and indiscriminately massacred men, women, children and old people. The West's complicity was obvious, not only in the form of the green light given by Ford and Kissinger who, just days before the invasion, had been meeting with Suharto, but also by the fact that Australia, which had foreknowledge of the invasion and had recalled its own citizens (members of the Australian Red Cross and the ACFOA), did not lift a finger to prevent the events which would violate international law.

Indonesia's generals, who knew where the old Portuguese barracks were located, dropped paratroopers and marines on Dili, then on Baucau, and then on Lospalos. Only a small number of people, those caught unawares, were stopped from fleeing to the mountains. In spite of the military might used by Indonesia, over 90% of the population resisted in the mountains in an organised manner, under the protection of their Armed Forces of Liberation, the glorious FALINTIL.

In May 1976, a so-called Provisional Assembly, the members of which were picked off the streets, signed a petition calling for East Timor's integration, while the people were being subjected to daily bombardments and were dying in their thousands, blasted away by bullets, stricken by hunger and sickness, and forced to leave their homes and belongings (which were set on fire) and to flee, exhausted, to escape the invading army.

Because the people would rather die than surrender to the new colonialist, from September 1977 the Indonesian generals proceeded to carry out successive, large-scale military offensives, surrounding and attacking the enormous pockets of resistance which, one by one, were overthrown, because of the colossal difference between the Indonesian forces and the Maubere resisters. These offensives, which sowed death and destruction throughout East Timor, only ended on 22 November 1978, with the defeat of the last remnant of popular resistance in Matebian. East Timor's population was, at last, totally under control, but not before hundreds of thousands of its children had paid a high price for defending their country.

Subsequently, the starvation and disease which swept through the enforced amassment of people, together with the interminable mass killings which took place throughout East Timor, resulted in many more thousands of victims, reaching a total of one third of the entire population.

This is the kind of integration which, at the request of that puppet Provisional Assembly, was to have been brought about quickly and without any referendum, and which many Western countries (in order to safeguard their economic relations with Indonesia) either pretend to be unaware of, or openly say is what the people of East Timor deserve!

However, contradictory as it may seem, many governments which, because of their economic links with Jakarta, recognise the "real physical repressive control" of the murdering forces of occupation, which they call sovereign, do not hesitate to state that they do not agree with the way in which East Timor was annexed.

When Namibia became independent after 40 years of South African rule, the East Timorese felt renewed hope that international law and universal standards of justice, freedom and peace had finally caught the attention of the international community and that it would turn to other cases which still shame the world.

When the Cold War ended amid the ruins of the Berlin wall, the Maubere people believed that the changes, which were hoped would benefit all humanity, would eventually have some bearing on their own struggle. One by one, the Baltic Republics became independent sovereign nations, just like those of central Asia that regained their freedom and right to manage their own future - the same freedom and the same right to which East Timor aspires.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a carbon copy of the East Timor tragedy, from the arguments used to justify it, and the farce of the provisional assemblies representing a country which had just been attacked, to the repression and decimation of the people. The UN's reaction - its condemnation of the invasion, demand for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces, and recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty - was identical to the reaction of the UN General Assembly and its Security Council at the time of the invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975. Up to this point, two aspects made the two events identical: the violation of international law and universal principles that recognise the right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence, and the reaction of the UN, depository of international law and universal principles, which condemned the illegal, forced annexation of another territory.

However, this is where the similarities end, because the reaction of the international community was not the same. In the case of East Timor, the world's vehement condemnation of Indonesia, contained in the first resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly, was gradually overshadowed by the economic interests of the countries calling themselves the champions of human rights and the fundamental rights of peoples.

While the ethnic, cultural and physical genocide perpetrated in East Timor by Indonesia was allowed to drag on for 17 years, with the international community waiting for Jakarta's generals to set the exact date for the extermination of the FALINTIL, so they could finally put the lid on what had been a difficult issue, in the case of Kuwait, because of the oil that was so precious to the West's companies. an international force, unprecedented in the history of the UN, came to the rescue of that small territory full of sand dunes and delivered it back to its people.

Today, while conflicts such as Chechnia and Bosnia reveal peoples' insurgence against foreign domination, they also demand that the international community realise that a New World Order cannot be achieved merely through the rhetoric of globalisation, which tends to assess standards of justice, freedom and peace in terms of the economic interests involved.

When a colonialist regime such as Indonesia is offered the chance to send its murdering troops to join the UN Peace-Keeping Forces, that regime has obviously won silence about the massacre of hundreds of thousands of East Timorese during the past almost 20 years of military occupation.

When a dictatorship that promotes dialogue in the case of other conflicts in order to improve its image, and yet obstinately denies constructive dialogue to, not only its own people (in violation of international law) but others (as in the case of East Timor's forced annexation), that same regime obviously feels it has sufficient backing to continue, with a degree of impunity, its repressive practices against its own people as well as against the Maubere people. This is what happens when the Clinton Administration considers restoring aid for training Indonesian military personnel, even though this goes against the principles themselves which state that, apart from in exceptional circumstances, military assistance must not be given to any country that engages in gross violations of human rights.

Such is the case of Jakarta: it disregards international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, and does not adhere to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which it is president, nor does it feel itself to be answerable to the Movement's member states about the violation of one of the basic principles of this organisation, encompassing a handful of troubled and confused third-world nations which have come to be influenced by the political cynicism of the West.

If violations of universal principles are simply accepted as being internal affairs of countries which are usually good areas for financial investment, political morality is far from leading the world to more egalitarian awareness, based on standards of justice for all, freedom for all, and peace for all.

I believe that, after nineteen and a half years of abuses and intolerable violation of human rights in East Timor, and militaristic expansionist ambition which has denied the Maubere people their basic right to choose their own destiny, this Inter-Parliamentary Conference is not going to waste time merely establishing whether the East Timorese are entitled to that right and whether Indonesia has violated it.

Indonesia has almost totally disregarded the resolutions which, at the end of the day, are repetitions of so many others - so many that the regime believes that sooner or later "they'll just get tired of it", and hopes that the following year the number of signatories will be smaller and the resolutions less convincing.

East Timor and its people have been particularly affected by the territory's geographical location, inside a real ring of fire between Indonesia and Australia. The latter allows Indonesia's generals to become brave murderers and turns its own leaders and politicians into their accomplices.

Many Western countries are enjoying investment facilities, profits from the purchase and sale of technology and even war equipment, at the expense of the ethnic and cultural genocide of the Timorese.

The Maubere people would accept its own extermination in the interests of upholding international law and the universal standards of freedom, justice and peace, and would face the consequences alone, encouraged only by the solidarity of peoples and by the sense of justice of men and women of good will, as attested to by this this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor.

However, although its burden becomes heavier with each passing year, and in spite of all the tears and disappointments, reflection and pain (that any people fighting for freedom and independence have

to go through) the Maubere people never despaired to the point of giving up the fight! The people of East Timor have their sights set on the future, and the future has, since the beginning of time, meant hope, the future has always held the promise of changes, and the future will always bring us the right moment for the victory of truth over error, and of justice over crime.

I have already said that Jakarta's error is not to be found in all these years of military, repressive occupation of East Timor. Jakarta's error was the act of invasion on 7 December 1975, - the official date which does not erase the vandalism of the border violations from September onwards of the same year. Out of this error, justified by the lies which the international political system of the time used in order to defend the interests of the super powers (former US Secretary of State, James Baker, even admitted recently that, with regard to the invasion of East Timor, the US had made mistakes, and continues to do so), another political error was born, which today frightens Indonesian generals: the fatal lie that the Timorese people freely chose integration.

The former Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumatdja, stated not long ago that they could not agree to a referendum because they would lose credibility, they would lose face. Indonesia's generals are still not intelligent enough to admit to political and military defeat by a small, ill-equipped guerrilla force, on a meagre patch of land containing half a million people, and they try at all costs to include East Timor in the chronic problem of "kesatuan e persatuan indonesia". They go to great lengths to convince the Indonesian people that East Timor poses a threat to the unity of the Indonesian state. This is the only political weapon which enables Jakarta's generals to carry on lying to the Indonesian people about a situation which, they know themselves, is going to end badly for them.

Indonesian society is gradually realising that the case of East Timor is a case of international law, and no longer an "internal affair of Indonesia", as government propaganda has been claiming. Gradually, our brothers the Indonesians, eager for democracy and justice, have begun to understand that their own government has been telling lie upon lie about the problem of East Timor.

For as long as the regime is dominated by the military, from parliament right down to the villages, it is unlikely that Jakarta will ever acknowledge that it cannot regard globalisation merely in terms of economic benefits, or as a phenomenon granting it the right to ignore what it refers to as the "interference" of foreign governments and to use the threat of economic retaliation against them should they dare to raise the East Timor case.

If, however, the West refrained from using double standards with such total insensitivity, Indonesia alone would not be so arrogant. Nevertheless, we believe that the ageing Indonesian regime will soon be finding fewer places to turn to. The wheels of history carry within them the embyros of renovation, and the rusty cogs of yesterday will inevitably be substituted by new parts belonging to a scheme for global transformation of the region.

The East Timorese have been shouldering the burden of resistance to the most sadistic colonialist power since the Second World War. In the year of its 50th anniversary of independence, Indonesia knows that its hands are stained with Maubere blood - blood that debases its own history of emancipation from Dutch colonialism.

The problem lies with Indonesia's generals, who were not made to reflect, but trained to buy weapons, equip armies and plan attacks. These are the men who hold the reins of power in Indonesia, along with major consortiums that are in as much debt as those of any third-world country but which are saved by the country's immense resources - resources which fill the coffers of a small elite of conglomerates at the expense of the great majority. Fifteen million people in Indonesia live below the poverty line. It makes us want to shout out to Suharto to look after those 15 million Indonesians and leave in peace the people of East Timor, whose population is being decimated by the occupying forces.

However, the vicious circle of politics leads us to reconsider outside pressure as a means of persuading the Jakarta regime to change its attitude. The Indonesian solidarity movement put it like this: the invasion of East Timor was an adventure for Jakarta's militaristic regime. If the Indonesian people had been governed by a democratic regime, an Indonesian parliament would never have agreed to the annexation of a territory by force, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Bandung Conference, which created the Non-Aligned Movement! It is a shame that the countries that champion human rights

close their eyes, not just to the repressive political situation in Indonesia but also to the violation of international law in the case of East Timor.

This is where the international community's responsibility comes in!

Distinguished Participants,

We trust that this responsibility will be in the forefront of the minds of all participants and that this Conference will look closely into the current legal-political status of East Timor.

It is time that a solution to the problem was found. It is time that Jakarta learnt that the case of East Timor can no longer be viewed as a separatist struggle. East Timor has never been a part of Indonesia, just as it has never belonged to Portugal. As was the case with Portugal in the past, Indonesia today maintains a merely physical military and political-administrative presence in the territory, as the colonial power.

In a few days from now, the all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue will take place.

To think that the East Timorese are likely to reach some form of reconciliation in Austria is to suggest that the cause of East Timor is nothing more than a problem of differences amongst the East Timorese themselves. If in fact the cause of East Timor's problems resides in the fact of Indonesia having forcibly annexed the territory, then of what importance is reconciliation amongst East Timorese? We say this because, for positive results to be ensured, any solution to the problem, any discussion of the issues, any formulation of new ideas must grow out of consideration of the political situation of the territory. One cannot escape from this. Nor could anyone with any sense applaud the efforts of Galvão de Melo in offering Portuguese language courses to the Indonesians (whilst in East Timor itself use of the language is banned), in encouraging Portuguese youth to perform folk songs and dances in Indonesia, in selling wine, sardines and Portuguese olive oil to Indonesia as significant "confidence building measures".

It is pointless to imagine that a meeting of Timorese integrationists and supporters of the resistance can launch ideas such as respect for Human Rights in East Timor. Resolutions on Human Rights in East Timor, from those passed by the United Nations to the European Community, from those of the European Union to individual governments, have consistently failed to exert any influence upon the Indonesian regime. It is also pointless to dream that the meeting could result in demands for a withdrawal of or even a reduction in numbers of the forces of occupation in the territory. The integrationists make pronouncements in defence of the offical position of the colonial regime which they serve, as functionaries of Golkar and of the government from which they enjoy handsome privileges, at the expense of the blood of their own brothers and sisters who they have helped to arrest, torture and murder, only then to deny that any of this has taken place.

If, by some miracle which defies all logic, Antonio Parada, Xavier do Amaral, Abilio Osorio or Chico Lopes were to address any of the above issues, it is unthinkable to imagine that Indonesia's generals would be immediately predisposed to agree with them. As far as Jakarta is concerned, these Timorese who have proven their willingness to repeat the government's rhetoric, are mere cassettes. For as long as they are able to reproduce intelligible sounds, they are played. When they are worn-out, they are discarded. They are of no importance as human beings. They are important merely for the services they render to the government and only for as long as they are of use to the same. There are numerous examples of Timorese, formerly hailed as indispensible figures in terms of East Timor's integration, who, realising their mistakes, later refused to continue participating actively in genocide, and who are now failures in the eyes of the occupier.

For a long time Jakarta has attempted to sow the seeds of political discord amongst the Timorese, drawing the attention of the world to this contention and away from the facts of its military annexation which has cost the lives of around 300,000 Timorese.

Indonesia's Centre for Strategic Studies was indeed clever in its selection of the players, however, as with the entire farce it is promoting, Indonesia is all too aware that it is its own credibility which is at stake.

It is our hope that none of those Timorese participating in the meeting in Austria will forget for one moment that the problem of East Timor is a case of the violation of International Law and of the denial of the universal principles of justice, freedom and peace, and that they acknowledge that only full recognition of the substance of the problem will lead to a solution.

It is also to be hoped that the Timorese participants in the meeting will, in this once in a life time opportunity, act upon their responsibilities as citizens of East Timor and that they will be inspired with the courage and fighting spirit of our ancestors in order to affirm to the world that we are a People with a Homeland which for the past 19 and a half years the complacency of western governments has allowed to be desecrated. For the first time in our lives, may we prove our worthiness as the sons and daughters of our People! By taking a stance of which we can be proud and which will not insult the combative spirit of our small half-island nation, we can be sure of a rapid solution being found in the interests of our people's well-being.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance, along with Fretilin, and with the support of UDT and of all of the nationalist resistance forces such as Renetil, AST and other independent groups, declare that in an independent East Timor, no more Timorese blood will be shed in the process of national reconstruction.

To all of our Timorese brothers and sisters who, motivated by personal ambitions, have seen in integration a means of improving their lot in physical/material terms and failing to take into account the destruction of the spirit and the historic and cultural uniqueness of our people, we declare that no acts of hatred or revenge will be perpetrated, and that they will be treated with tolerance. It has been the war, provoked by Indonesia's expansionist ambitions, which has divided us, and I truly believe that we Timorese are sufficiently mature to realise true reconciliation in an independent Homeland, consciously closing the book on the dark pages of our history for the purpose of working, hand in hand, for the future of our small Nation and for that of our children.

This is the promise of true reconciliation, just as it is also the deepest desire of our People and the most sacred demand of our Homeland. It would be our symbolic 'hemu ran', an act signifying fraternity/brotherhood, taught to us by the ancestors who also passed down to us the sacred ideal of the Homeland expressed in the words 'fatuk no rai, uma no ahi'!

Dignified Participants,

We would like to express our appreciation to His Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations, for the firmness with which he dealt with the question of East Timor during his recent visit to Indonesia.

Amidst the psychological fatigue common to any nation whose resistance has spanned 20 years and, more tragically still, which has been forced to rely entirely upon its own capacity to resist, the Maubere people are inspired with new hope, renewed faith and full confidence that the United Nations, as the depository of the fundamental rights of man and as guardian of the universal principles of justice, freedom, peace and International Law, will not permit a case such as that of East Timor to be purely and simply relegated to the category of an internal problem of the government of Indonesia.

However, in order to support the United Nations in the performance of its role in terms of conflict resolution, a clear and firm stance on the part of the world's politicians is of vital importance! And today more than ever before, all political stances adopted in defence of law, freedom, justice and peace are crucial in forcing Indonesia's colonial regime to understand that Human Rights are universal and, as a member of the United Nations, that it must abide by International Law.

They are more crucial now than ever before, precisely because the UN Secretary General himself has affirmed that a solution can come only from the UN General Assembly, thus robbing Indonesia of its delusion that reconciliation is synonymous with integration.

Indonesia has taken advantage of the deferment of debate on East Timor in the UN General Assembly to display its arrogance and defiance to the international community. Indonesia has gone to all lengths, using to maximum advantage the influence it has acquired as the recipient of investment from

the Third World, to earn itself a positive image in the case of the problem of Cambodia, advancing its position as a member of the UN Security Council, even proposing itself as a protagonist in the search for a solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The UN Secretary General was emphatic when he reminded an Indonesian journalist who was interviewing him on a number of international problems that Indonesia has one of its own on its hands, i.e. East Timor, about which he was not being asked. A reminder to Jakarta that East Timor cannot be considered merely a domestic issue.

Now is the appropriate time for this Conference to adopt firm and clear resolutions. The International Court of Justice in the Hague has the case of the Timor Gap on its hands. We believe that the integrity, professionalism and spirit of justice which are the foundations of the credibility which the Judges of the International Court of Justice have earnt for themselves, will determine the outcome of this litigation, brought against Australia by Portugal.

We have no doubt that, despite the fact that it is not a member of the International Court of Justice, Indonesia and its agents are making efforts to exert their corrupting influence in the corridors of the Court, as they have done with numerous human rights experts in Geneva and UN diplomats in New York. This is the pattern of Indonesia's lobby worldwide and one of the most prominent features of Javenese culture.

Dignified Participants,

What, therefore, is the solution? Any solution to the East Timor case must attempt to respond to two objectives: a - recognition of the international nature of the problem and b- protection of the interests of all involved/interested parties.

Jakarta has always resisted recognising the Timorese people as an interested party, despite their being directly involved in the conflict. The intra-Timorese meeting represents, therefore, an important step forward, examined from the point of view of the necessity for Indonesia to officially recognise the Resistance as an element possessing the right to be consulted and, by extension, acknowledging the inappropriateness of the Indonesian generals' use of the GPK (security disruptor gangs) stamp.

If in the defence of what constitutes the substance of the problem, the need for certain norms in the implementation of the solution is foreseen, a referendum is the target to be aimed at. Jakarta has consistently refused to consider the possibility of a referendum, firstly because of the dictatorial nature of the government under which elections have never been free and, secondly, because it is a colonialistic regime and a consultation of this kind which carries the risk of confirming it as such is unacceptable.

Whatever the solution is, if it is not the freely expressed will of the People of East Timor, it cannot be considered a genuine, let alone lasting, solution.

A solution can only be considered just if it is the expression of the sovereign will of the people of the territory.

And in this era of worldwide democratic transformation, Jakarta must begin to include a referendum as the most free and democratic form of decision-making in its political dictionary.

We admire greatly the political courage of the governments of those countries which, having recently passed from being dictatorships to democratic regimes, have invited international observers to attest to the free and honest nature of their first general elections.

In the case of East Timor, a referendum must be supervised by the United Nations, given that the Indonesia regime clearly fails to understand the true meaning of democracy in its universal sense.

We are within our rights to demand an immediate referendum! This revindication is legitimate since the nature of the problem points to, even demands it!

However, considering various aspects and essentially respecting the democratic principles which are the backbone of the implementation of a referendum, because we respect the interests of Jakarta represented by the interests of the group of Timorese who desire integration, CNRM has formulated a plan which would allow for the safe implementation of political mechanisms aimed at ensuring a situation of political calm and responsibility on the part of all Timorese and essentially on the part of parties and mass organisations, regardless of political tendency or ideology.

Over the past 19 and a half years, Jakarta has shown its bad faith, manipulating the world with its lies and empty promises. The need for international supervision via the mechanisms of the United Nations system is urgent. Portugal's participation in its capacity as administering power will serve to pave the way for the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia.

CNRM's Peace Plan which has the full support of its constituent elements, Fretilin and of all social forces in East Timor such as the Church, Youth represented by Renetil and AST and other groups existing in the territory, has defined a series of phases which are expected to respond to the unfolding needs of a truly honest and fair solution process.

The combination of the measures proposed in Phase I serve specifically to create an atmosphere of individual and collective security for all who, at that moment, are living on Timorese soil.

Only the presence of the United Nations and of International Organisations can guarantee stability and security, can ensure the realisation of concrete measures on the part of both Indonesia and of the Timorese resistance. What we most fear is the provocation/intervention of salaried agents of the intelligence apparatus, encouraged by the occupying military authorities to continually destabilise the situation.

Over the past 20 years of Indonesian military occupation, Indonesia has armed large numbers of East Timorese who have become as murderous as the Indonesian generals and who, on a daily basis, act as the spearhead of the activities of the intelligence agents, intimidating, persecuting and arresting the people.

As with all colonial regimes, the occupying forces have instigated crimes amongst the natives of the territory in order to then justify the continuing deployment of their troops in the territory.

This will be the period of true reconciliation. A sensitive and extremely decisive period in terms of future stages of the process. And it is in this period that the need for a climate of confidence and, above all, for mechanisms which inspire and are conducive to this climate of confidence must be seriously taken account of.

The dismantling of the secret police apparatus is an important condition, as is the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces.

The disarming of all natives of East Timor, formerly provided with weapons by Indonesia, is a precondition of the disarmament of the Falintil.

Such control of the situation, exercised by the United Nations, or by peace keeping forces, possibly originating from Portugal, would be the surest means of burying once and for all the spectre of a civil war, the subject of much Indonesian propaganda to date. We have never believed in the possibility of another civil war breaking out amongst the East Timorese. It is Jakarta which is constantly referring to this possibility, and therefore the most secure solution is the one we are proposing.

Phase II is the period of the readjustment of consciences, the period of political experiments, of technical and professional preparation of the people, of affirmation of socio-economic and cultural potentialities.

The supporters of integration will enjoy the same rights and be subjected to the same obligations as those defenders of the right of our people to self-determination and national independence.

We do not deny that tempers are inflamed, because the violence and brutality have been exclusively the practice of the criminal forces of occupation and those in their pay.

We understand the reasons behind a rejection of an immediate referendum, and that the results could be influenced by these inflamed tempers. It is our desire that our adversaries enjoy the same opportunities as us, and time will not be the only factor in determining the mood of the people, but also our own acts, in defence of true reconciliation, will be proof of our political good-will in solving the problem of East Timor in the light of International Law and according to the norms applied by the UN in solving other identical problems.

It is time that Jakarta realised that dialogue is not just an idea which one proposes to the Cambodians or to the Croatians and the Serbs, but a principle to be applied, particularly in view of Indonesia's holding of the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement!

It is time that Jakarta realised that colonialism is any form of oppression perpetrated by one nation over another and that the fight against colonialism is one of the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is time that Jakarta reflected that its fifty years of independence carry the stain of the blood of some 300,000 Timorese, victims of the repression of a war which is now entering its twentieth year and which has been imposed upon a small and defenceless neighbouring people!

We do not demand to be considered the winners in this war which would only shame Indonesia. This presumption defies all reason. Accepting one's errors has never been a source of shame to anyone, and is in fact an act which affirms a person's worthiness of respect.

Global transformations are no historical accident. Neither are changes for the better, leading to progress. Accidents are attempts to halt the wheels of history, and when these attempts threaten to abusively defy time itself, they are called obsession and arrogance.

Jakarta, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of national independence, has an opportunity to make the event an historic one by heralding changes which correspond to the rhetoric of globalisation and a New World Order and which are consistent with the United Nations' target of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000.

As President of the Non-Aligned Movement and of a State which we respect, and whose fiftieth year of independence we join in celebrating, we appeal to President Suharto for an act of political courage.

Independence is the fundamental right of all peoples of the world. And President Suharto is well aware of this! Our brothers, the people of Indonesia, expect from their President political acts which will result in them being immortalised in history as a great nation of the Third World, poised as it is to face a future of great progress, where democracy, social justice and peace are the parameters of Indonesian society and an example to neighbouring peoples and states, including to the Sovereign State of East Timor!

Dignified Participants,

We know that Jakarta is not yet prepared to recognise that it is time for political change. Only President Suharto himself knows when the need for such political change will be acknowledged!

CNRM is determined to take all measures necessary to counter the obstacles which Jakarta has thrown in our path.

The Special Representative of CNRM, our beloved brother in the struggle and tireless fighter for the liberation of our people, will continue in his efforts to bring about the gradual implementation of CNRM's program aimed at the creation of favourable socio-political and economic conditions, under the indispensable supervison of the United Nations. And these efforts will continue until Indonesia accepts

that East Timor is a non self-governing territory with the right to self-determination and to national independence.

In this we will be intransigent and of this, we have greater conviction than Indonesia's generals! Personally, I believe that the Timorese people are ready to assume their responsibilities!

The Maubere people, for their part, are convinced that this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, being held for the first time in Lisbon, represents a decisive step forward, as an extension and the result of a long string of magnificent actions, unsurpassable in their zeal and dedication to the Timorese cause, carried out by the international solidarity movement.

We have faith, because you have given us faith, we have hope, because you have helped us to keep it alive. And we know that, with you, with all the men and women of good will world wide, WE WILL WIN!

Long live International Solidarity!
Long live the Just Struggle of the Oppressed!
THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, WITHOUT RESPITE, ON ALL FRONTS!
TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

On behalf of CNRM

(signed)
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao
Commander of the Falintil

Cipinang Prison, 20 May 1995.